1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

701 [938] In fact, there was no escape from mili-
tary duties except by assuming the status of a berdache, but they
721 made no pretense of considering these duties as other than a disagreeable necessity. In their view the enemy, with unfamiliar garments and weapons and formidable courage, were evil magicians, and they were to be treated as such: avoided until they became too obnoxious, then killed with as much dispatch as possible.

727 It was because of their belief in the enemy's evil magic that the Papago took no booty. Nothing belonging to the enemy might be touched except by one who had been through the special purification to be described. Male captives were never brought home, and the females occasionally taken were sold to the Mexicans,
● [764] not kept. Papago dead were left on the battlefield or burned there, though the usual custom is burying. Papago wounded must be purified. The only trophy brought home was the scalp or occasionally a belt or moccasin to take its place. In this trophy was thought to be concentrated the magic power of the enemy. The reward of the fighter for his labors was to possess this power and make it serve him.

796 726 War ritual can be divided into three stages, which logically should not all come under the same heading. The first two, which here have been called the rituals of the warpath and of victory, were really communal ceremonies. They were conducted by the whole community, or at least by all the warriors, and they had the regular form of a community ceremony: the oration by the priestly leader and songs by the group. Moreover, in the Papago mind, which abhorred emphasis on killing and revenge, their real result was supposed to be a magical one, bringing rain and crops.

The warpath and victory ceremonies are then actually food ceremonies. To this extent has the main interest of Papago life shaped and turned all its elements. The only ceremony for power is the third of the war rituals, warrior's purification, which conforms perfectly to the other purification formulae. Since to separate the three phases of war would make the narrative difficult to follow, all three have been described here as a continuity.

721 The first, which has been called the warpath, comprises all the preparations for war, up to the time of fighting. It must be de-

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789 ×539
My enemy I see.
Hi ii't.

Am I not a shaman?
Then I arise and look.
Having looked upon the land,
I know.
Hi ii't. (13)

13. Something I am doing, doing.
Through the ground I shall keep boring;
This water I shall surely see.(13)

14. Foul, foul!
Here before me it is imbedded;
It is moving to and fro.(13)

789 During the singing the shaman, with his crystal, looked for the exact location of the evil charm. He saw it like a light in the distance and, taking a few helpers, went out to pull it up, while the men still sang in the council house to give him power.

He would have to stop frequently to locate the tube, and each time his helpers sang the driving away songs. Finally, he left his helpers and went alone to the burial place of the charm. Its "tail" stuck up above ground, and on this he pulled, while the charm wriggled frantically under the earth, pulling the shaman to and fro. In some legendary cases the shaman was pulled underground and never came back. But the strong shaman ultimately dragged out the charm. Several informants assured the writer that they had seen this process and seen the shaman faint with the effort.(33) After it was pulled up the charm was burned, and this burned the sorcerer's heart so that he died.

683 The sorcerer who failed to receive retribution in this way might 789 very well be killed by public or private agency. His kin would not defend him. "They thought maybe those who killed him were right. Or they thought, if they tried to avenge him, the rival shaman who had accused him, would cast spells on them."(21)

766 The dead shaman, whether good or bad, was always placed in the oldest form of Papago grave, the small shelter built above ground, walled with stones and roofed with branches. Food and

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weapons were placed with him, as with the other dead, but his shaman's paraphernalia were taken away, lest his ghost should use them harmfully. His family were equally afraid to destroy them and to keep them and therefore hid them somewhere in the hills, where "if their power came out it could do no harm." [19]

[19] The practicing shaman is still an important member of Papago society, and informants reported seeing the "sending away" ceremony very recently.

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726 Later a band of deer hunters, coming through Flat Wells, found Apache tracks. They sent to warn the people at Worm Pond but the messenger waited until after eating before he gave the news. The chief rebuked him and said, "Why didn't you tell us sooner?" Then all went for their horses and one man, approaching his, saw an Apache in the act of untying the hobbles. The Apache escaped. The Papagos followed the Apache tracks all night by moonlight. They would have caught up with them, but there was an evil shaman among the Papagos who advised his people to turn around and go home. So they did, although they were very near the Apache who were tired and expected death.

The next year Apache stole some Papago cattle and drove the animals through a Papago settlement to announce the fact. The Papagos rode after them and got into a canyon. The Apache were on a mountain top above them. There was an unequal fight. The Papagos captured a horse with some meat and rawhide tied on the saddle. The Apache wounded two Papagos.

Next year some people from Kuhatk went on the warpath. They came to a hill where the Apache had left their water bottles and spare moccasins. They thought the Apaches must be near and sent out two scouts who saw them gathered around a fire. The scouts returned and told the other Papagos who rushed in and clubbed all the Apache. Only one Apache shaman had felt evil in the wind and had made his escape with a friend.

Later that year, a man named Blisters led out another war party. At Buzzard Claw mountain one man had to leave and turn back. On his way some Apache spied him from a mountain top, came down, hid in the bushes where he would pass and shot him. The Papagos chased the Apache and found some cattle they had killed but could not catch up with the Apache themselves. The Apache were on a mountain top, which was always their place of refuge. They would come down a little way and then, if they saw the Papagos were still circling about, would go back again. Finally they made a dash down the mountain and got away. The Papagos saw a smoke signal ahead of them and then, as they followed, another and another, so they knew there was no use going on: more Apache were being summoned.

They went home, found the horse of the man who had been killed from ambush and finally followed the trail back to the man himself. [764] The man had been dead some days. They burned the body as was always done with an Apache victim.

The next year two Mexicans were killed by the Apaches near San Xavier and the Mexicans asked the help of the San Savier Papagos in avenging them. San Xavier sent word to their relatives at Coyote Village and told them to come without stopping for supplies: the San Xavier women would be grinding corn for them. The Coyote men came instantly and they all started that night. They travelled

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726 nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along the trails.[1]

The "Pimas" here spoken of were the Sóba Jípuris who later became amalgamated with the people of San Xavier. There was probably a good deal of cultural difference between these agricultural eastern people and the western nomads whose unwillingness to fight was noted even by the Spaniards.[2]

PURIFICATION

783 The Spaniards, although they mention the scalp dance, say
727 nothing of the arduous process of purification which constituted a killer an Enemy Slayer. The central idea of this seems to be that the enemy and all his possessions were dangerous. Contact with them, even though it was victorious, put a man in touch with supernatural power which could destroy him unless he fasted and dreamed in order to learn to handle it.

Therefore a man who had killed an enemy left the fight immediately. He blackened his face, fasted and used a scratching stick and kept away from the others until he was ritually purified. According to one informant, it was possible to avoid the ritual of becoming an Enemy Slayer, if one were willing to take the risk and waive the privileges it involved. Some men "like to fight but didn't dream much." These might ignore the killing of an enemy or turn the prerogatives of a Slayer over to another man. The idea of contamination attached also to a Papago wounded by the enemy. He must be segregated and go through the same purification as a Slayer. This was true even of a wounded woman.

"Once the Apache stabbed a woman at Field Pond. The Papagos had had the drinking ceremony and this woman's husband had stabbed her while drunk. The woman ran away to where the Water Whirls Around but her husband followed her on a mare and got her to come back with him.

West of the Place of the Dead Dog they passed a mesquite tree and some Apaches leaped out. The horse shied, the woman fell off and the Apaches stabbed her. However, they did not kill her.

She was then taboo just like a wounded warrior or an Enemy Slayer. She could not be taken into the village, but the Papagos built a fire and an old woman, the wife of an Enemy Slayer, came out to take care of her. Then they built a shelter and the old woman stayed with her for sixteen days." (19)

766 Dead comrades and all their possessions must be burned, not
727 buried as was the usual custom. Dead enemies must not be touched

[1] Bolton, 1919, 1. p. 179.

[2] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, p. 892.

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except by one who had been through the purification of an Enemy Slayer or who was about to go through it. But as many as liked might gather around and make comments on the dead enemy's appearance. Whatever they shouted would be used later as their own nicknames and such names were much prized. One man had the nickname Gold Breasts, because he had used this expression about a dead Apache girl. Another was called Big Ribs because of his comment on a man.

No booty could be taken. All enemy possessions must be burned by Enemy Slayers, qualified to touch it. There were two exceptions. Enemy women and children were sometimes captured, not to be adopted, but to be sold as slaves in one of the markets. They could bring nothing with them, however. All their clothes and possessions must be burned.

Also, each killer took a trophy from his victim. This was originally the scalp and so it appears in the tales of Elder Brother's campaign. Later it was only a lock of hair or four hairs from each temple. These were subsequently tied up with beads and ornaments or made into an effigy of the enemy himself with Apache dress and weapons. After the warrior's purification this served him as a fetish which must be tended and which would, in turn, give him power. Some men did not take scalps at all but brought one article of clothing, such as a moccasin or belt. This object was purely ceremonial. It was not to be used but to be kept in a basket like the effigy.

The formalities after a fight have been given in detail in another place. They involved the segregation of the Slayers for sixteen days, during which they were tended and instructed by ceremonial godfathers who, ever afterward, were regarded as relatives and so adopted into the gift giving circle. The wives of the godfathers tended the warriors' wives who were also secluded and made the new clay bowl and the olla for bathing water which was supplied to them each every four days. Meantime the warrior's relatives collected goods to pay the performers of the leaping dance which would purify his weapons on the final night of purification.

During the warrior's seclusion, the whole village danced around the scalp every night. It was finally purified on the last night by a leaping dance, performed by people of another village bearing the warrior's weapons and paid by his family. If the warrior were one of those particularly daring ones who fought with club and shield, a new shield was sometimes made for him on this occasion but this seems to have been optional. He sat through the purification of his weapons and finally was, himself, purified by the singing of other scalpers who, as mentioned before, had something the status of an

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765 Still, those who were not afraid went occasionally to the grave, sometimes taking food. Bodies tended to mummify in the dry air and could be seen through the chinks in the masonry looking as in life. One Mexicanized woman told of going for years to look at her dead husband with his red sash and his violin. Another married a second husband and, when she still kept dreaming of the first, the second went to the grave and threatened him: "Leave her alone or else I will dig you up and burn your bones!"

765 177 There is a yearly festival of feeding the dead, which is now thoroughly amalgamated with the Christian feast of All Souls, but which has some likeness to the Aztec custom of sending property to the dead by burning once a year for four years.[1]

766 The feeding and gifts for the dead applied only to those who had been buried. Those who had died on the warpath or at home, from enemy wounds, were cremated, without ceremony. Only purified Enemy Slayers were competent to touch the corpse or his effects, because "it would make them sick". The officiants followed no ritual. They placed the weapons with the body, piled what wood they could find over and under it and burned it as quickly as possible. The kindred wailed but not at the cremation site, "because they were afraid."

Cremation was definitely for the purpose of destroying enemy magic, for it did not take place after accidental shooting at the hunt, nor after murder by a fellow Papago. Only enemy wounds made it necessary. That the enemy need not always be the Apache, is shown by a Spanish account which relates how, when a Jesuit priest was killed by revolting "Pimas" his friendly parishioners burned his body; "this burning is the manner in which the Pimas treat their dead whom they most esteem".[2] It was not the heroism but the enemy magic which necessitated the burning.

766 172 The Hohokam, or ancient inhabitants of Papagueria, habitually burned their dead and kept the ashes in jars. If the Papago, as Gladwin[3] suggests are degenerate remains of this ancient culture, their habit of cremation in this one respect, might be a survival of the former practice. But it might equally well be related to the custom of the Aztecs, who disposed of their dead by cremation or burial, according to the manner of death.[4]

768 Immediately after a death of any kind, the family pulled down the house to prevent its being visited by ghosts. The house was a

[1] Sahagun, Seler p. 297.
[2] Velarde section 3, p. 145.
[3] Gladwin 1929.
[4] Sahagun, Seler, pp. 300, 301, 298, 299.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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yes, clubs and shields. And they dance with them in front of the men. They dance and they sing with those weapons, and they will not give them back until the men have paid them.

We heard those girls run out, the girls who could run far. And when the men came near we saw the old woman go dancing out; the woman who takes the scalps. Foamy Water was her name; a woman who could not menstruate and hurt those powerful things. She took it when she was old enough from her mother who was called Painted Girl, because Painted Girl was so old she could not dance any more.

But Foamy Water danced hard. They gave her the hair of the Apache, not scalps, just long hairs from the temples, and they gave her his beaded buckskin shoe. They had tied those things on a pole, and she came dancing with it into the village, dancing at every house. She came outside our house making the pole go up and down. She sang:

Here I stand, singing for my prisoner
Come and see, Oh, women!
I dreamed that I saw light
At the tips of the warriors' feathers.

Then she stuck the pole in front of the council house and all the people went there to hear about the fight. It is the two messengers who tell that story before the fighters come, and sometimes after they tell about the killing, they end up: "But they got some of our men." Then they tell how they made a fire and burned up the dead men with everything they had. Because we dare not bury a man who died in the enemy's country. We must have fire to take away the power of the Apache.

We thought if anyone was dead we would hear the crying. So my grandmother listened; she knew the women's voices. But there was no crying. So my grandmother cooked us our food, and she did not put any salt in it because we were being purified. I sat by the house wall away from the fire and I was cold. I heard the men who had not killed come into the village, yelling and whipping their horses, and I heard everybody singing at the council house, stamping up and down:

Poor crow. There it hangs. Poor crow.

They sang that way every night for all the days of purifying. It is a good thing to have the enemy's hair raised on a pole above our houses. It calls the clouds to it and brings rain on our land, and then the corn comes up. But those who have brought the blessing cannot dance. Not they and not their families. Leaf Buds' husband went out to meet my father and led